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Contribution to the Study of the Social Organization of the Bororo Indians

[Contribution a l'Étude de l'Organisation Sociale des Indiens Bororo]

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[Title page]

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131 361 [648] [199] Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city, the second today is made up of three groups of native villages: those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative 101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara 132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the 648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material 363 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments. 241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several 137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across 231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks, 177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half- [223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught. 621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most 621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to 162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly [221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

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621 and the children under 15 years of age certainly not exceeding
162 ten, only two or three of them being younger. The physical type
142 seems well preserved; the number of handsome and healthy indi-
[141] viduals—especially among the men—were in the large majority
(Pl. VII, A-B, A /see p. 45 /: Tõnkŏd'daᵘ, around 25 years old;
1.723 meters tall; horizontal cephalic index: 84.65). The dis-
164 eases which rage in the region—yellow fever and smallpox—are
those which eliminate rather than impair. Many natives bear
traces of the last, however. A leper was living in the village.
[732] Along with a blind man, he represented the only infirmities.
191 Only one native, an escapee from the missions, spoke fluent
Portuguese, which it seems he had formerly been able to read and
write. Five or six understood it but had a vocabulary of only a
few words at their disposal. The others did not know the language
at all.

Structure of the Village

616 Kejara aldeia is divided into two exogamous phratries, named
614 respectively Tugare and Čera. The meaning of these terms was
[621] never specifically stated to us; only once, in connection with clan
Ki, which means tapir, it was mentioned to us that all the Čera
are tapirs. Each of these phratries is divided into several clans (1)

> 1. The term vóbe, which we translate this way, means precisely "group of relatives."

or groups of clans, a list of which follows:

Tugare phratry:
Paiwe (Hedgehog) clan
Ãróre (Catepillar) clan
Ẽwãguddu (Buriti) clan
Apibore clan.

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616 Čera Phratry:
614 Bādejaba (Chief) clan
O Čera (Čera of the Ibis) clan
Ki (Tapir) clan
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Big-Armadillo-Red-Arara-Gilthead) clan
Bakoro clan
Bóro (Pendant of the lower lip) clan

Beside these clan divisions properly so called one finds a certain number of distinctions of different character (Note I, p. 37).

361 The morphological structure of the village directly indicates
621 the social organization. The houses are distributed around a big
345 circle, the approximate center of which is occupied by the men's house (baite-mannanage°); the latter is built on a north-south axis.
621 A line west-southwest and east-northeast, very oblique in relation
616 to this axis, divides the village into two practically equal halves:
614 the southeastern part comprises the Tugare houses; the northwestern part is formed by the Čera houses. The diameter of the circle having been set a little too short for the number of houses, one house belonging to the Ki clan has been pushed slightly behind the alignment (Pl. VIII, A /see p. 46/: in the foreground the O Čera Čębegeʷõ hut partly hiding a Ki hut. In the background, from left to right, the Ki kujagoreð, Bokodori Čębegeʷõ, and Bokodori-Kõge baiaddadaʷ huts). Numerous native sources state that in the past this situation was normal and that the village was composed of several concentric circles, the houses belonging to the same clan being located approximately one behind the other.

621 The layout of the village thus expresses the social structure.
616 But it also expresses its geographical position. A second axis, very
614 oblique in relation to the preceding one and perpendicular to the
823 course of the river, in turn divides the village into two halves, the Čãbõgeʷõge, i.e., "the upstream ones," and the Čębegeʷõge, or "downstream ones." Each of these halves evidently includes houses belonging to both phratries. And the spatial distribution of the clans in the interior of each hemicycle causes three of them to

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621 616 614 823 be found also divided into two groups according to their position in relation to the river. Thus we have: /272/

Ewâguddudõge čẹbege^{w}õge: those of the downstream Buriti
Ewâguddudõge čâbõge^{w}õge: those of the upstream Buriti
Âróre čẹbege^{w}õge: those of the downstream Caterpillar
Âróre čâbõge^{w}õge: those of the upstream Caterpillar
Bokodori čẹbege^{w}õge: those of the downstream Big-Armadillo
Bokodori čâbõge^{w}õge: those of the upstream Big-Armadillo

In contrast, the Paiwe, Bakoro, and Bóro clans are entirely upstream; the Ki, O. Bãdejeba, and Apibore clans are entirely downstream.

552 599 [823] [345] The two houses which respectively face the two doors of the men's house and through which the diameter dividing upstream and downstream passes have a special name, which expresses their special position. Their inhabitants are called Baiãddadaẽge, i.e., "those who look at the house" (Fig. 15, Nos. 4 and 17 /see p. 6/). [345] [591] It should be noted that the door of the men's house which faces the Tugare half is called Čera, whereas the one facing the Čera half is called Tugare, marriage being matrilocal (Pl. IX, A /see p. 47/).

Over and above these spatial determinations the natives also use others, according to enumerative order, importance, or familial relations. Certain houses are called Bo'pokẹje^{w}õge, "the last ones" (literally: Bo', people; pokẹje, again; wo, there; -ge, plural). Thus we have Bãdejeba bo'pokẹje^{w}o (Fig. 15, No. 12), the special name of the last house of the Čera phratry, and Ewâguddudõge bo'pokẹje^{w}õge (Fig. 15, No. 16).

A household can also receive a special name according to the particular importance of the grouping or construction. Hence House 15 is called, perhaps because of its remarkable form, Ewâguddudõge kurigeo, "those of the big Buriti."

[614] Finally, when the distribution of clan members in different houses corresponds to a systematic distribution of relatives of one family, each house is designated by its familial character.

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552 Thus we have (Fig. 15, No. 17 /see p. 6 /) Ewâguddudōge
592 eten'manaāge: those of the Elder Brothers of the Buriti, and (18)
614 Ewâguddudōge etu'ieemage: those of the Younger Brothers of the Buriti.

614 It is also possible that the adoption or division of emblems among the members of the same clan results in the creation of other secondary determinants. /273/ Several clans are divided in this manner into two subclans distinguished respectively by the colors red and black. Thus:

Apibore Čoreŏ: black (23)
Apibore kujagoreŏ: red (22)
Paiwe Čoreŏ (25)
Paiwe kujagoreŏ (26)
Ewâguddu Čoreŏ (15).
Ewâguddu kujagoreŏ (18).

/Figure 15 appears here./ /274/

Some groups of clans perhaps came from a single clan, as they seem to share emblems: the Bóro acquired an object associated with the legendary history of the Bakoro clan, of which they were no doubt formerly a part, in the same way as the O Čera, themselves also inheritors of a legendary animal of the clan. The Bokodori clan is subdivided into Kōge (gilthead) and Čiba (red arara); but it is not clear whether this is truly a question of subdivisions of a main clan or of a homogeneous clan designating itself by three emblems: "Bokodori and Kōge, Bokodori and Čiba," the natives say, "it's the same thing."

621 The number of terms used for the definition of the groups is
552 thus clearly more important than the number of houses of the
592 village. The result of this is, first, that different informants do not always designate the same houses by using the same adjectives; the same informant varies equally according to the time and the circumstances. In the second place, each house, or almost each, is found to have, if not always its own name, at least a set combination of the names of the clan, of the position, of the family, etc., which belong /sic/ to it alone. The Bororo village

[TEXT Continues on P. 7]

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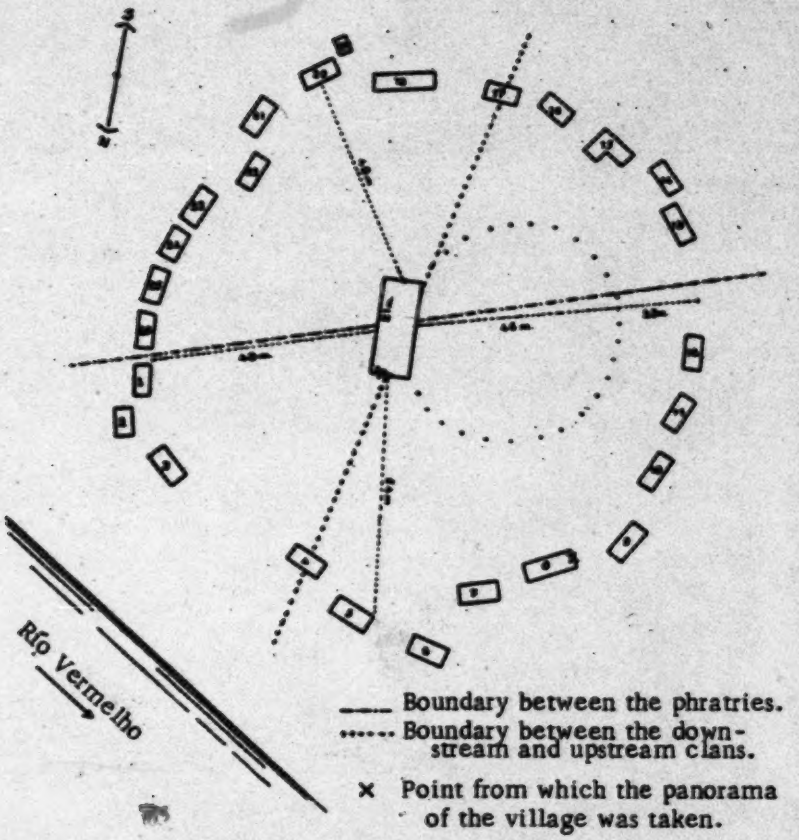
Rio Vermelho
Boundary between the phratries.
Boundary between the downstream and upstream clans.
Point from which the panorama of the village was taken.

Fig. 15.—Plan of Kejara aldeia. Above the boundary between the phratries: the Tugare; below it, the Čera. The Čabōge$^{\omega}$ōge are on the left (upstream) and the Čębege$^{\omega}$ōge on the right (downstream) of the axis which separates them; in the middle, the Baiaddade$^{\pi}$ge.

/274 cont./ The Bororo Village

621 552 592 614 616 is thus composed above all of an ensemble of households, that is, of families or groups of families, living in the same house and styled under this relationship alone. The denomination of the household always involves, among other things, the name of the clan; sometimes it involves the name of the phratry, as is most frequently the case with the Čera. Here is a type list of the households of Kejara aldeia as we were able to make up on the basis of information gathered from our different informants, or from the same one on different occasions (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/).

Čera Phratry:

(Čãbõge^{w}õ half)

1. Bóro Čera
2. Bakoro Čera-Nogujeba
3. Čiba Čera-Bokodori Čãbõge^{w}õ
4. Kõge Čera-Bokodori baiaddada^{a}

(Čębege^{w}õ half)

5. Bokodori Čera Čębege^{w}õ
6. Ki kujagoreõ
7. Ki
8. O Čera Čębege^{w}õ
9. O Čera
10. Bãdejeba Čębege^{w}õ
11. Bãdejeba Čębegeõ baiaddadawõ (1)

[128]

1. We are allowing this significant anomaly, which expresses the disagreement of two informants as to the position of the diameter of the baiaddada^{a}ge (11-20, and 4-17 /see Fig. 15/), to stand.

12. Bãdejeba Čębege^{w}õ bo'pokęje^{w}õ

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Tugare Phratry:

13. Ārórę ʸčębegeʷõ
14. Ārórę čębegeʷõ
15. Ęwâguddu ʸčereð kurigeð ʸčębegeʷõ
16. Ęwâguddu bo'pokęjeʷõ čębegeʷõ
17. Ęwâguddu baiaddadaᵃ eten'manaãge
(cãbõgeʷõ half) 18. Ęwâguddu kujagoreð etu'ieemage ʸčãbõgeʷõ
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Ārórę ʸčãbõgeʷõ baiaddadaᵃ (1)

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1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Ārórę ʸčãbõgeʷõ
22. Apibore kujagoreð
23. Apibore ʸčoreð
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe ʸčoreð
26. Paiwe kujagoreð

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Ārórę clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ęwâguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

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It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

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2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

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(of which von den Steinen's study, more than 50 years old, still offers an extraordinarily faithful description) if one did not take into account the fact that this culture, in itself highly superior to that of the Brazilian caboclo /"copper-colored"/ has been raised still more above the latter level by the gifts of the Service de Protection. A fisherman on the Río Vermelho, in 1936, had only one means of obtaining an axe for himself: it was to try to get one from the Indians. The essential reason which permitted us to make up a small group to make the trip to Kejara, in a period when navigation in a canoe is particularly difficult, is that our men knew that the Indians in this village—where they had never been—had cultivated tobacco, and they were hoping to bring back some young plants. Their hope was realized: the 300 tobacco plants given by the natives to our canoeiros marked the beginning of tobacco cultivation by the Brazilian population of the upper São Lourenço. These extraordinary conditions explain why the material culture of the Bororo, incomparably superior to that of the immediate environment, should have been almost exactly preserved.

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economic life. The present-day diet /276/ of the Bororo is more vegetable than meat. This is explained by the growing necessity to have recourse to agriculture in view of the increasing scarcity

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177 of game, and by the new facilities brought to farming by the iron
178 tools distributed about ten years ago by the Service de Protection.
433 As agriculture has remained exclusively women's work, the activity
[462] of the men has become simply diminished, and the existence level of the population has dropped. Thus, although the Service de Protection has given the natives appreciable advantages in comparison with the cultural poverty of the white or half-breed population of the interior, it has certainly diminished them in regard to their
[511] own culture. Be that as it may, the present system does not exclude economic differences. Within the body of collective obli-
241 gations, each enjoys a certain amount of freedom. It is the native
[622] chief of the village who gives the order to increase or limit the clearing of land, to sow rice or maize, or to plant manioc or tobacco. The female part of each family works one piece of land, and the land available in relation to the clearing carried out is great enough so that allotments are made without strife: the natives seem to have no boundary disputes. The cultivated plots are abandoned as soon as the land is exhausted and another piece of ground is chosen. An extreme diversity of resources exists.

736 Unmarried orphans, not being able to count on the work of a woman (mother, wife, or daughter), are deprived of all garden
737 products and live on the charity of their comrades. It is the same for the old people; after a hunt or successful fishing trip, they are brought a piece of meat or a few fish. But also sometimes they are forgotten. The indigent person is then reduced to going without
[587] a meal and all night long, alone, utters ritual lamentations. An old woman who shared our hut, neglected one day by her usual benefactors, for hours recalled the times when her five successive husbands assured her her daily bread, quite indifferent to our presents.

511 Beside them live the well fed, whether because their harvest
463 was particularly good, or because the family contains a high num-
595 ber of women (we found, among the chiefs, two examples of
412 bigamy),[1] or even because it is a question of indispensable specialists:

[1] [The author is evidently using the term "bigamy" in the sense of legitimate plural marriage rather than in the sense of irregular union, C.f. P. 117--Analyst]

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511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 elieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
66 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were
the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him,
thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[437] Tušawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in
trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons,
and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs
with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our
objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for com-
missions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But
skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the
[239] earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary
type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of
macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of
tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no
matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which
are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see
p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left with-
out saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return with-
out the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example,
but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury
among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother
or grandmother to daughter or granddaughter by deed of gift.

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556 Hence they constitute true hereditary property of which the women
562 are the usufructuaries and from the possession of which they draw extreme haughtiness and arrogance.

556 Lastly, other elements of wealth are tied in an even more
[181] intimate fashion to the social structure. In a collectivity whose clearest activity is expended in chants and dances, everything used for ritual ornamentation /278/ has a special value. This is
556 why feathers, the real raw material for social and religious dis-
237 plays, form a wealth of a completely special kind. Each native
[415] has a capital of feathers, carefully kept in long boxes of cylindrical
[735] wood, which have a fixed "market price" according to kind, color, and form. There are common and precious ones. But the
556 use of each type of valuable feather is the privilege of one clan.
237 The ordinary feathers are also regulated: their use, the type of
614 object in the composition of which they enter, the technique of
556 manufacture, and finally the style vary with the clan. This
614 specialization extends to practically the totality of manufactured products: arrows, bows, weapons, necklaces, pendants, headdresses, etc. Further on we will set forth what we were able to gather on these social privileges. All the clans are not equal as to the variety of arms and ornaments which they have the right to make, nor as to the rarity of raw materials which they alone have the right to utilize. Some clans, for example, can make several types of bows, others only one; some have rich ornaments among their prerogatives, while others are limited to modest forms or materials.

571 To all these secondary distinctions which we have previously
614 enumerated, an economic hierarchy of rich, modest, and poor clans should be added. The ᵃKario Bokodori clan, extinct in Kejara, was especially rich according to the natives; the clans or subclans Āróre ǩåbōgeʷōge, Ewåguddudoge ǩåbōgeʷōge, and Ewåguddudoge bo'pokejewōge are rich. At a more modest level are the Ki, Kōge, Čiba, Bakoro, Bóro, Paiwe, Apiborege, Ewåguddudoge baiaddadaⁿge, and O čera clans.

The Bādejebage čębegeʷōge were given to us as especially poor.

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554 551 614 [582] Finally, it seems that the economic hierarchy is continued within the clans and that economic differences accompany the bearing of certain names which are the property of the clans. These names or classes of names intervene with regard to marriage rules.

Preferential Unions

123 764 We were not present at any marriage during our stay. The village was entirely absorbed with funeral ceremonies.

582 614 616 [345] It was explained to us that a young girl who wants to marry goes into the Baitemannanage* to find the spouse whom she has chosen. But /279/ we must pause on the conditions of this choice. The exogamy of the phratries does not constitute the only matrimonial prohibition. Each clan contracts marriage, at least preferentially, with a limited number of clans from the opposite phratry, one, two, or three. But these preferential unions are less the province of the clan itself than the internal divisions in the clan, which perhaps have an economic significance but whose essential role seems to be to regulate marriages and which do not coincide exactly with any of the secondary distinctions studied before.

582 614 551 [161] Most often these distinctions are established by proper names. It would be a question then of classes each composed of a single individual, or a very small number at least. Given the collapse of the demographic base of Bororo society, it could hardly be otherwise, even if in the past the categories were more numerous.

The list of clan names which we were able to gather, with the indication of corresponding marriages, is given below.

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Cera Phratry

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Clan	Name	Marries with
Bādejeba	Bakorokuddu (name of a legendary hero)	Āróre čābōgeᵘ ō
	Iparečẹba (id.)	Āróre baiaddadaᵃ
	Wapa (?)	Ewāguddu baiaddadaᵃ
	Merit'awāra (The Path of the Sun)	Apibore bo'pokẹjewo
O Čera	Uaboreč (?-Uabo: heart)	Ewāguddu
	At'ugoreč (The Painted Man)	Āróre čẹbegeᵘ ō
Ki	Kibakororo (Bakororo, The Tapir)	Ewāguddu bo'pokẹjewo
	Tu'goga (?-Tugo: arrow)	Ewāguddu baiaddadaᵃ
	Māra (?)	Ewāguddu baiaddadaᵃ

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Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge	Kōge (Gilthead)	Ewāguddu čoreč
	Bokodori Baro (?)	Ewāguddu baiaddadaᵃ
	Ariga Čoča (?-Ariga: puma)	Ewāguddu čābōgeᵘ ō
Bakoro	Nogujeba (legendary hero)	Apibore (Kru'guga uobẹ)
	ᵃKario Bokodori (legendary hero who named an extinct clan)	Apibore (Brogẹ)

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Clan	Name	Marries with
	Cera Phratry	
Bóro	Bok'arebo (?)	Ārŏre baiaddada
	Jerégi-čodo (Old Tortoise)	Apibore kujagoreŏ
	Tugare Phratry	
Paiwe	Baiporo (door?)	Bokodori Čera
	Meriri kurigeŏ (Big Light)	Bakoro Čera
Apibore	Broge (?-indicates wealth)	Bakoro Čera
	Kru'guga uobe (Relative of the Eagle-throat; indicates wealth)	Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge
Ewaguddu	Tad'ugo (?-indicates wealth)	Ki
	Aria kurigeŏ (Big Saucepan?)	Ki
	Butaregāde (?)	Bokodori
Ārŏre	Baitogógo (legendary hero)	Bādejeba

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614 This table, which is no doubt incomplete, suggests the following conclusions:

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582 614 five clans contract marriage with three clans. These are: /281/

Bādejeba (Apibore, Ewāguddu, Āróre)
Bakoro (Paiwe, Apibore, Āróre)
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Paiwe, Apibore, Ewāguddu)
Apibore (Bādejeba, Bakoro, Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge)
Ewāguddu (Bādejeba, Ki, Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge)

two clans contract marriage with two clans:

Paiwe (Bakoro-Bokodori)
Āróre (Bādejeba-Bóro)

one clan marries with only one clan:

Ki (Ewāguddu)

601 [582] The study of kinship terminology permits us to state precisely this system of preferential union. The native vocabulary distinguishes, in fact, for most degrees of kinship, between the elder and younger. Thus:

ogwa umanna: father's elder brother
ogwa uie: father's younger brother
mugā vuri: mother's elder brother
mugā uie: mother's younger brother
ogwa utuge: father's elder sister
ogwa uie: father's younger sister
mána: elder brother
uie: younger brother (or sister)
utuge: elder sister.

On the other hand there is only one term to represent several kinship relations in the following cases:

marúga: ancestor, father's elder sister, mother-in-law (man speaking)
ure: mother's brother, elder brother (woman speaking)
uie: younger brother, male cousin
iedaga: father-in-law, father's father
mugā pega: mother-in-law, father's mother (literally: bad mother).

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582 These identifications permit us to conclude that the matri-
601 monial system is as follows:

A male individual may contract two types of marriage. He will marry either his father's younger sister or his father's elder sister's daughter. In the first case, his father's father is at the same time his father-in-law, and his father's mother, his mother-in-law. In the second case, his father's elder sister is his mother-in-law.

[616] This same individual's sister may not, symmetrically, marry her mother's brother, as they both belong to the same phratry. Her uncle hence enters the category of men whom she cannot marry, and she has only one name to designate her mother's brothers and her own brothers (elder). The combinations open to her are: her mother's brother's son and her elder brother's son. The maternal uncle and the elder brother are thus identified by the young girl as providers of possible spouses. The result is that the men have wives their own age or older, whereas the women have husbands their own age or younger. This is confirmed by [595] experience: the marriage of a woman and of her daughter by a previous marriage to a new husband constitutes the typical case of bigamy among the Bororo.[1]

In addition, three categories of men exist for a woman: those older than she whom she cannot marry (mother's brothers, elder brothers); those younger than she whom she cannot marry (her father's brother's sons, younger brothers); and finally, those of her own age or younger, with whom she can contract marriage.

The Bororo have hence had, at least in the past, two forms of marriage, namely: the cross marriage and the marriage of a nephew with his aunt. It is not possible to say, given the present state of our information, whether these marriages are always rigorously practiced, whether they are contemporaneous, or whether one of these forms represents, in relation to the other, an evolved stage. But with the exception of the typical cross marriage, it is not the mother's brother who is identified with the father-in-law, but the mother's brother's father.

[1] [Cf. analyst's footnote on p. 10--Analyst]

/282 cont./

582 601 Likewise, the sister marries her mother's brother's son or her elder brother's son. From the point of view of the marriage rules, each generation finds itself thus cut into two halves, the elder ones marrying within their generation, or in the one immediately above, into which they are assimilated, whereas the younger ones find their spouse within their generation or in the one immediately below, with which they are assimilated. Thus, a young Bororo man will distinguish in the clearest fashion among his mother's sisters, between the younger ones, who are for him so many possible wives, and the elder ones, who are the mothers /283/ of his other contingent spouses; he will hence identify his younger aunts and their nieces.

[551 614] Only further investigations will be able to tell whether, as is probable, the classes of names determining preferential unions within each clan, which we have enumerated above, correspond to the division of generations into elder and younger; this appeared already manifest in the secondary determinations of the Ewáguddu clan (Fig. 15, Nos. 17 and 18 /see p. 6/).

Leadership

634 Kejara village is the residence of the general chief of all the Bororo of the Río Vermelho and of the upper São Lourenço. This individual is called Tuẏawa; the Brazilian fishermen in the region have nicknamed him Cadet. At the time of our stay he seemed to be about 60 years old.

He enjoyed a great deal of authority, although the natives did not deprive themselves of having a go at him—in his absence—without ill-will. They joked about his laziness and his habit of making subordinates work for his benefit. But during our entire stay we never saw any order of his not scrupulously carried out.

[241] He himself boasted of having re-established economic equilibrium in the village, after the foundation of the Indian Protection Service, by having great expanses cleared and rice planted. On two

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the popula-
[439] tion. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[345] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage[a] was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[224] tasks. A little later Tušawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few
[731] years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream. The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tušawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

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1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

/284 cont./

634 463 301 [239] [435] is the large crown of throat feathers (krug'ũga) which the leader /given in English/ wears in the ceremonial dances. The double difficulty of obtaining these feathers on one hand and the ritual of making them on the other explains why such accessories have a considerable value for the natives.

634 849 Finally, infanticides enter the province of the chief; he suffocates the undesirable newborn babies by closing the nose and mouth with his hand.

634 571 123 Although we were always sent to him for the acquisition of objects of collective use, Tuẙawa rarely concluded the transaction on his own authority. Long conferences took place, where the clan chiefs and his friends and trustworthy men conferred. He had, in fact, the habit of surrounding himself with counselors who often filled no political office but who had great influence on him. Most often it was through their mediation—they had been made known to us very early—that we requested the necessary authorizations for pursuing our work from him. Several hours later Tuẙawa would drop in, sit down beside us, remain silent, [431] and then smile at us mysteriously and demand a gift. The agreement was made.

634 Tuẙawa communicated personally with his subjects even less than with us. He saw them little, having moved his house to the right bank of the river, where he lived alone with his two wives and where he had his cultivated plots. Except when his presence was necessary for ceremonies he only spent a couple of hours in the village. He would then go to the hut of the O Y̊era [122] clan (8) /see Fig. 15. p. 6/, over which he seemed to have property rights, so that at least he had put it at our disposal, and we shared it with an old widow and the hostile household of a [203] "bari." It was there—or even better in the men's house—that he met with the men he trusted and communicated his decisions to them.

/284 cont./

203 512 614 [537] The village itself learned of these during a daily ceremony /285/ that took place after sunset. At the moment when night falls, a large fire is lit near the Baitemannanage°, near which the clan chiefs gather; in a very loud voice one of them makes a veritable "roll call" of the clans, whose names resound successively in the night. Gradually as the parties concerned arrive, orders for the next day are communicated to them, always in this raised tone which carries every word to the most distant house. At this time of day the houses are empty anyway, or almost so. With nightfall which dispels the mosquitos, all the men come out of their houses where they had been for about the last six hours. [361] Each carries a mat on his arm, which he will stretch out on the beaten earth of the large, round stake-encircled plaza situated on the west side of the men's house. [516] Each lies down wrapped in [302] a large cotton blanket completely stained orange from the contact of bodies covered with urucú, which the Service de Protection would have difficulty in recognizing as their presents of six or [285] eight years before. They settle down on the long mats in fives or sixes and a few words are exchanged. Some are alone; they move around between all these outstretched bodies. As the roll call goes on, the native chiefs of the families named rise by turns, go to learn their task for the next day, and return to stretch themselves out beneath the stars. The women have also come out of the houses. They form groups on the threshholds, where [533] more mats have been made ready. Conversation becomes more and more rare, and one begins to hear progressively, conducted at first by two or three officiants, and amplified by successive arrivals, at first at the back of the men's house, then on the plaza itself, songs, recitatives, and choruses which last all night.

634 [614] We were not able to obtain any serious information on the choice of the chief. The leadership is probably hereditary within the clan, passing upon the death of the titular incumbent to the sister's son. In fact, Tušawa had no heir. According to native informants, a council of elders or of clan chiefs would have to meet after his death to designate a successor. Tušawa, the

/285 cont./ Tuŝawa, The
634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
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1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

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Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to
[616] determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
616

764 1. The marid'do is a sort of very
535 long, flexible ladder, the rungs of
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/287 cont./

764 which are made of palm stalks cut
535 to sections about 25 cm. long;
[824] these sections are fastened together
[284] by bands of roughly twisted green palm. Each rung is made of a bundle of two (big marid'do) or three (small marid'do) sections. Gradually during the construction, the ladder is rolled up on itself until it forms, in the largest example, a disk 1.50
[283] meters in diameter. The two sides are then decorated with green palm, held in place by a net of cords made of women's hair. The top of the disk is decorated for a length of about 50 cm. with applications of down. The large marid'do is called
[614] Ewãguddudoge cŏreŏ marid'do; the small one, Ewãguddudoge kujagoreŏ marid'do. But it is not necessarily natives of this clan who have made them. Some time before the festival the two marid'do are solemnly taken out of the men's house and taken to the middle of the bororo, where they are placed parallel, about two meters apart, and on the axis separating the phratries. The dance of the marid'do lasts two days; each protagonist tries to lift one of the disks at arm's end and to hold it as long as possible while running and jumping in the plaza. Failures provoke the delight of those
[533] present. During the whole ceremony (Pl. VIII, C /see p. 46/ and Pl. X, B /see p. 48/), the following words

/287 cont./

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are sung without stopping:

ʷuręˌ ᵐuręˌ	foot, foot
kaia kaia	pestle, pestle
manó marid'do	dance of the marid'do
ǩegu'ęˌ	we others
ǩęˌ	we burn
uoro	buriti wine
hu hu	yes, yes
ǩęgiga	we joyous

764 of the Ewăguddu clan, and on the occasion of the death of the
535 same individual (Bădejeba) another ceremony took place under
614 the auspices of the Paiwe clan. Thus it was the Tugare clans who
616 officiated for the death of a Čera. But in its turn the Čera phratry was obliged to take part in the festival to play the role of partner. "The Ewăguddudoge dance," said the natives, "but the Čera help them...." This duality is well expressed in certain dances where the protagonists, covered with foliage, form in two lines which face the two ends of the bororo, and then part whirling toward the opposite camp, cross each other in the middle of the area, and stop after having accomplished the change of places. Each camp comprises exclusively the dancers of one phratry. After the dances the participants are washed in a flood of water by the members of the opposite phratry.

614 A network of more complex obligations binds the clans among
264 themselves, with exchanges of food consumed in the men's house.
345 Inside the Baitemannanage[D], about every two hours a man arrives
[272] from his own house bearing a large communal bowl of mingau pre-
[576] pared by his wife. His arrival is welcomed with the loud, joyous ritual cries, "au, au," which strangely break the afternoon silence. Then, in a set ceremony, the contributor goes and gets six or eight men and conducts them to the bowl, where they begin to dip in with their shell plates. The particulars of this ceremony were not given to us; we were able to gather that each clan is obligated to certain other clans, and that hence all furnish each

/287 cont./

614 other with food, at least among the men. For, aside from the
264 meals taken in the male club and those brought to the dancers
345 at the end of each ceremony, each family provides its own food in its private house.

614 Clan privileges rest in exclusive possession of names, songs,
626 dances, and emblems, and in special rights to the utilization /288/
424 of certain techniques, certain objects, and certain materials. These prerogatives are strictly respected. An Indian whom we asked what would prevent a clan's making the ornaments of its neighboring clan for itself considered the suggestion absolutely improbable. Faced with our insistence he told us that the members of the clan would certainly become angry and inflict a correction on the offender; but such incidents, it appears, never happen.

Concrete Expressions of the Social Structure

129 Figures 16 to 19 /see pp. 26, 29, 31, and 32/ summarize what we were able to gather of these concrete expressions of the social structure.

Objects

411 Bows. One finds three types of bows in Kejara:
the ordinary bow, of bare wood, undifferentiated;
the bow for big hunting (Fig. 16). It is identical to the pre-
[531] ceding, but on parts of the sector of bare wood which the left
[824] hand grasps and of the sector covered with rope to protect the wood
[283] from the rubbing of the arrow, the wood is decorated with white rings made from the bark of an uaguassû (noid'do) palm tree and
[614] fastened on with ligatures of vegetable fiber. The number of these rings and their arrangement in relation to the middle of the bow distinguish the clans.

[Text Continues on p. 27]

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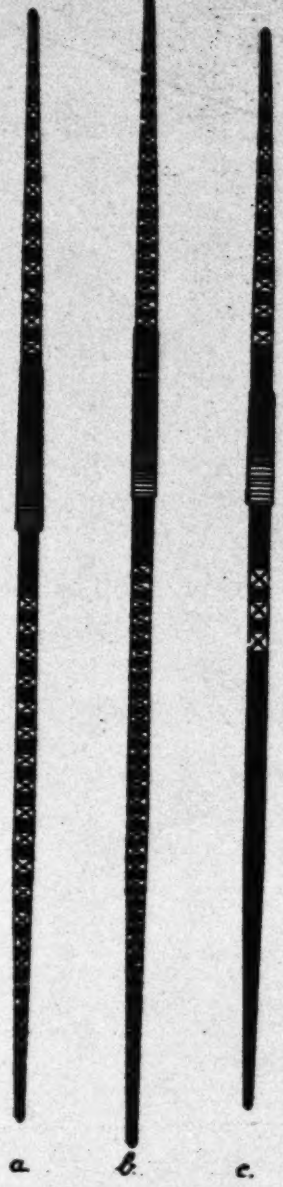

Fig. 16.—Bows for big hunting.

a: Ki clan (21/12)
b: Apibore clan (38/18)
c: Bādejeba clan (3/10)

/288 cont./

411 531 237 the ceremonial bow. As in the preceding type, /289/ the central part is of bare wood, save for the protective rolling. All the rest of the bow is covered with ornamentation which varies with different specimens: sheaths of glued on feathers, rings of feathers or fur, mosaics of feathers of different colors, etc.... All along the wood long feathers or throat feathers of the arara, in pairs or singly, are attached. Finally, some specimens show a bunch of varicolored feathers at the top end.

411 531 237 614 The origin of the bow can be deduced from the three following elements: 1) nature and color of the casing of the wood; 2) number, distribution, nature, and color of the feathers adhering to the wood; 3) nature of the feathers or insignia placed in the bunch at the top; thus, some bows of the Bakoro clan have, in the middle of the feathers at the end, a small wooden lath covered with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills, this technique being its privilege.

Figure 17 /see p. 29/ gives four "formulas" for ceremonial bows:

a. Not identified; 1.52 meters long. Wood covered with small red /rouge/ feathers glued on with resin; on the sides two crests of white /blanc/ down broken in the middle.

br: blue and red arara feathers
vr: green and red arara feathers
bj: blue and yellow arara feathers
bn: throat feathers in alternate white and black bands
j: yellow toucan feathers.

b. Āróre clan; 1.62 meters long. Wood covered with red feathers glued on. All the hanging feathers are attached in pairs. Top bunch of small red and yellow parrot feathers, with five long emblematic feathers.

b: blue —r: red
br, bj, bn: as above.

c. Āróre (ʔẹbegeʷõ) clan; 1.62 meters long. Wood covered with alternate rings of black, yellow /jaune/, and red feathers glued on.

/289 cont./

411 r, bj, br: as above.

531 d. Čiba Čera clan; 1.50 meters long. Wood covered with
237 red feathers glued on, with rings of white down. Feathers are
614 attached in an asymmetrical fashion in pairs and singly.

br, bj: as above.

Ewåguddu clan specimen gives the following formula (Fig. 18 /see p. 31/): /290/ /Figure 17 appears here./ /291/ wood covered with red glued on feathers with incrustations on the inner surface of small squares of yellow feathers (lower half, four groups of six; upper half, three groups of six). At the top a bunch of small yellow and red parrot feathers, with seven arara feathers: br, bj, br, bj, br, bj, br. All the ornamental feathers attached in pairs. Lower half: br, br-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj. Upper half: br, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-br, br-br, br.

411 Arrows. The arrows used in Kejara aldeia are of four types:
harpoon-arrows for fishing, undifferentiated;
"macaco" arrows, with a point made of a sharpened bone on the wooden head, undifferentiated;
bird arrows, with a club-head, undifferentiated;
ounce arrows, subdivided into two types:

[216] 1) point of notched wood; one row of notches indicates the
[531] Čera, two, the Tugare.

2) point cut with a deep bevel forming a groove.

411 Most of the ounce arrows have at the lower end, between the
53 arrow feathers, a decoration which is the mark of the owner's clan.
614 Figure 19, A-L /see p. 32/ reproduces 12 arrows with emblems:

A. Paiwe — B. Karío Bokodori — C. Ewåguddu (?) — D. Apibóre kujagoreb — E. Bóro Čera — F. Ki — G. Apibore — H. Bādejeba (Bakoro) — I. Āróre — J. Kōge Čera — K. Bokodori-Čiba-Čera — L. Āróre.

[237] Specimens A and H are decorated with pieces of glued on feathers. F, J, K, and L are adorned with small colored tufts made from quill feathers.

[Text continues on p. 30]

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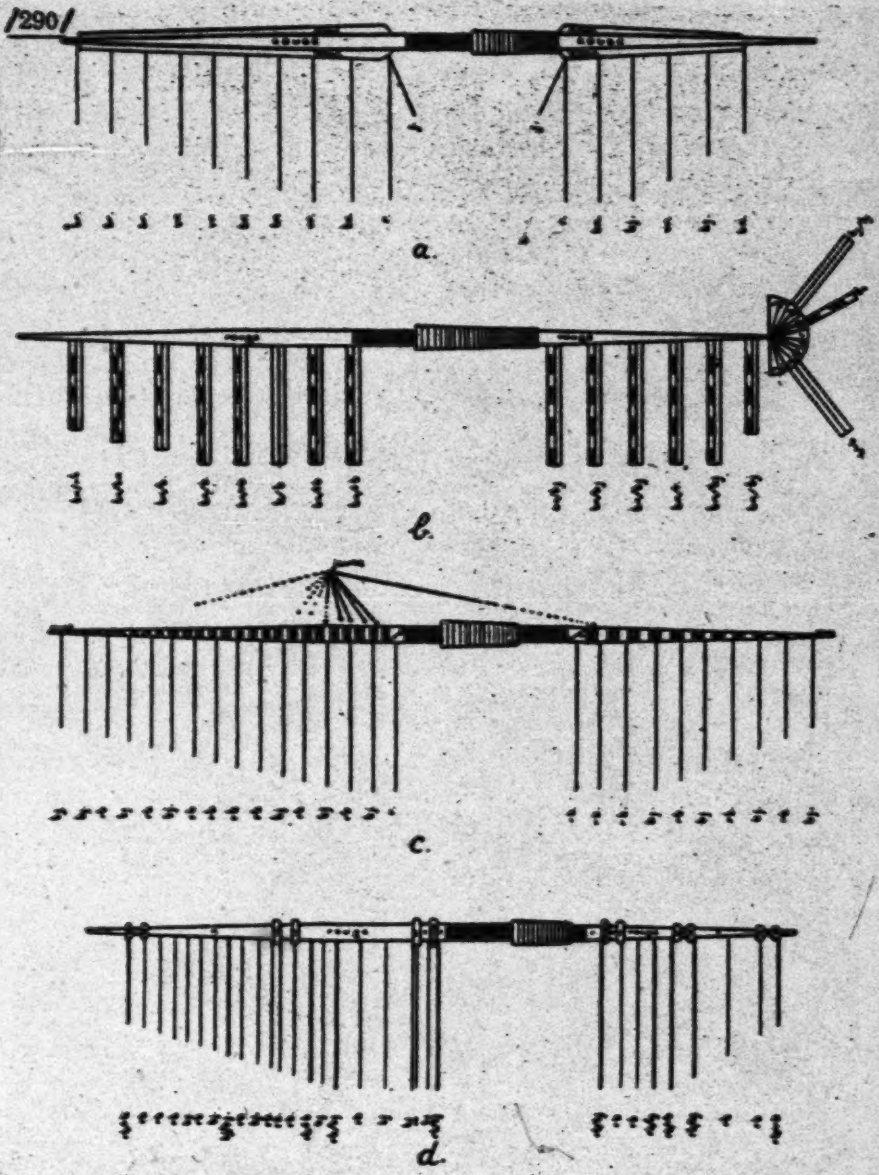

Fig. 17. Ceremonial bows.

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141 The wood of specimen D is bare, and the clan marking is
531 formed by notches cut in the arrow feathers. This process is
614 rather rarely used.

[239] B is adorned with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills, decorated with red feathers and tufts of red and white quill feathers. This formula is repeated in most of the objects of the Bakoro and Bóro clan, who doubtless got it after the disappearance /292/ /Figure 18 appears here/ /293/ /Figure 19 appears here/ /294/ of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and today use it in preference to its own formula (H) (see Note II /p. 41/.

I and L constitute two variants of the Āróre colors (red and black). Such variations are extremely frequent. Each individual interprets his clan's formula in his own way.

531 The colors blue and yellow (A), separate or together,
614 generally characterize the Paiwe clan. But the mark of this clan seems to lie less in the use of certain colors than in a certain process of distribution of the colors in alternating bands of equal or different lengths. Thus, a feather-covered fishbone
[301] pendant of the Paiwe clan presents the following distribution
[239] (short bands in small letters, long bands in CAPITALS):

BLUE-red-blue-red-blue-red-BL. -y.-b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-y.-b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-r.-b.-r.-B.

[534] The same decorative process is found on a Paiwe ceremonial trumpet with alternating colors red, blue, black, and white.

291 Ornaments. The Bororo of the male sex live completely nude, with the exception of various ornaments and a penis band
[283] (bá). This indispensable accessory is made of a ribbon of palm-tree fiber, about 50 cm. long, first folded back on itself for 10 cm., and then tied twice in such a way as to form a conical loop open at its end. This loop covers the end of the penis, and the foreskin, pulled outside through the terminal opening, forms a bulging part and holds the whole (Pl. VII, C /see p. 45/). Once the double loop has been made, a piece of ribbon remains free, from eight to 16 cm. long; this piece is cut level with the
000 loop in the bá for everyday wear. In contrast, on ceremonial

[Text continues on p. 33]

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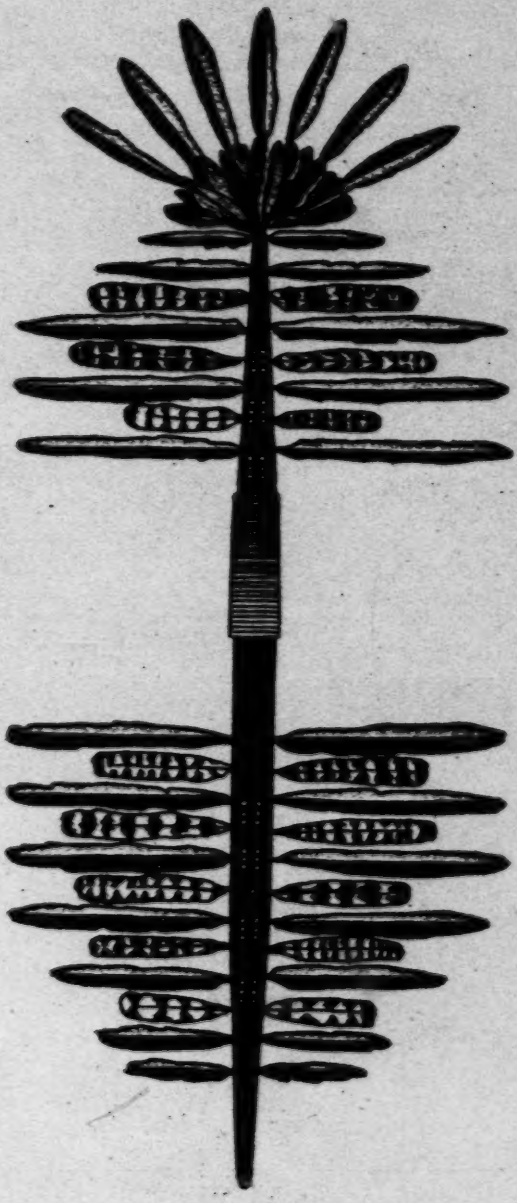

Fig. 18.—Ceremonial bow /in color in original/.

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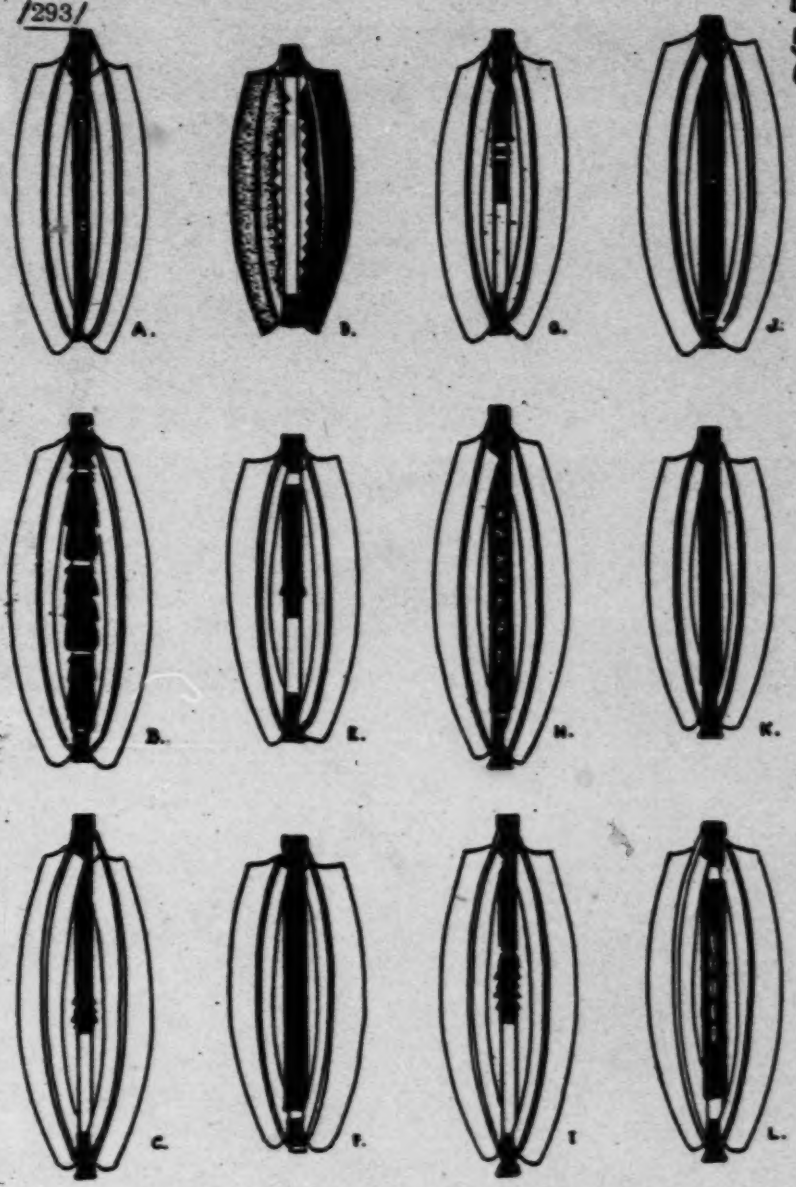

Fig. 19.—Arrows with emblems /in color in original/.

/294 cont./ In contrast, on ceremonial
292 days the men make and wear special bands, in which the end is
531 cut off, painted, and embellished with appliqué of down or
614 feathers, in such a way as to form a kind of small, rigid banner distinctive of the owner's clan (Pl. VII. D /see p. 45/). We have reproduced 18 specimens in Fig. 20 /see p. 35/:

A. without a mark
B. unidentified
C. Čiba Čera
D. unidentified
E. Kŏge Čera
F. Paiwe kujagoreŏ
G. Bădejeba bo'pokẹjwo
H. Paiwe coreŏ
I. (Bokodori) or (Ewâguddu) Baiaddadaᵘᵉ
J. Āróre čẹbegeᵘᵉŏ
K. Āróre
L. Ki
M. Ewâguddu čẹbŏgeᵘᵉŏ
N. Bakoro
O. Bóro Čera
P. Apibore
Q. Ewâguddu
R. unidentified

[386] /295/ They are painted in red and black (urucú seeds crushed in fish fat, and resin, kid'doguru), with appliqué of white down.

Specimen L represents one of the eponyms of the Ki clan, the puma.

G. perhaps evokes the form of the crocodile, the eponym of the Bădejebage.

182 There are hardly any objects which do not thus express, each in its own way, the owner's social position. This is the case with
30 the labial pendant, three types of which exist: the rigid pendant,
614 needle-shaped, made of bone, hardened resin, and—since the
[439] natives are able to procure old cartridges—beaten copper, seems the privilege of a single clan (1); another make, of wood covered

1. All the copper specimens that we got belonged to various parts of the Paiwe clan.

with feathers, a plait, or shell fragments, and terminated at the lower end with a bunch of feathers, indicates the clan by the color or nature of the ornamentation; finally, a last type is constituted by a string of small fragments of mother-of-pearl or

/295 cont./

301 614 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round, pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
[292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kõge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 237 614 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows) on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C). The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are
[534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and poᵃri), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

616 [534] [973] [302] One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry, resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarers /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 appears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and perhaps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms
614 562 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Áróre, who are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[text continues on p. 36]

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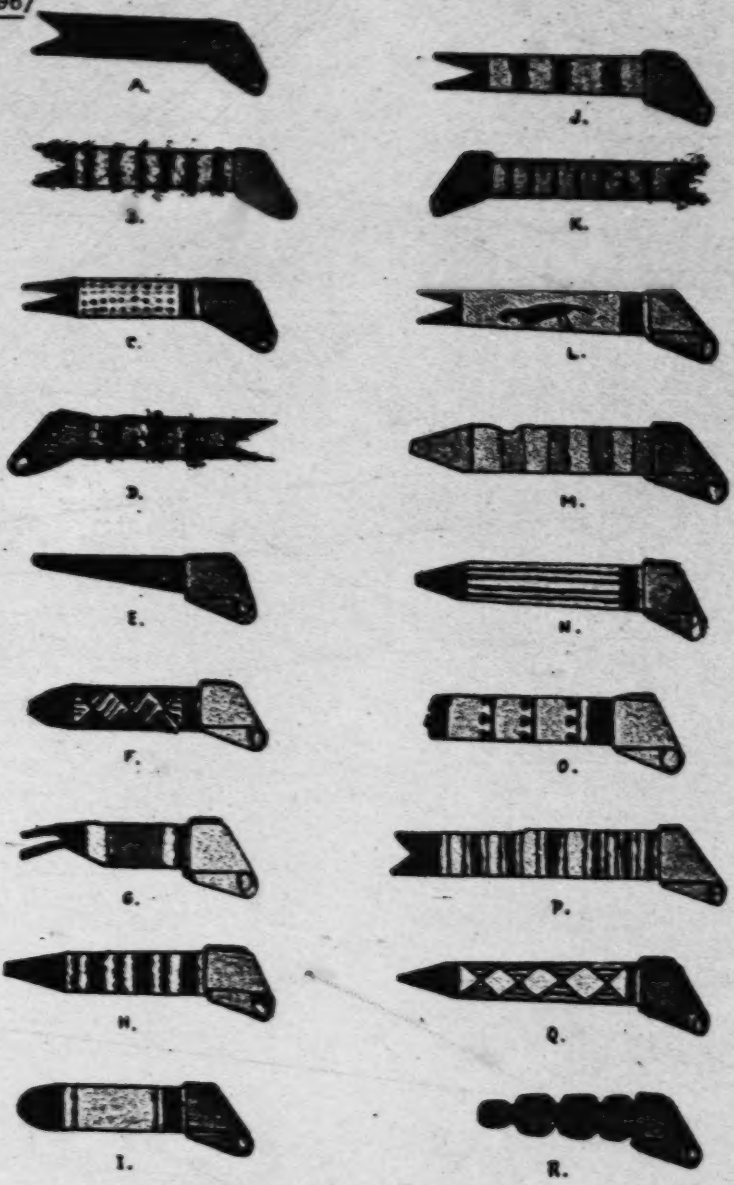

Fig. 20.—Penis bands /in color in original/.

/297 cont./

614 designate the Ārórę ̨ębege^{wu}ō (No. 13 /see Figure 15, p. 6/),
562 Ait'e Aréme, "the women of the ait'e." This is the only case where we have seen a relationship established between the female element of a clan and its emblems (1).

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1. This expression is all the more curious because, as we know, the Bororo think—or say—that a woman who sees a "bull-roarer" will die. The belief is still very much alive.

[764] The first time that we saw "bull-roarers" being made, on the occasion of funeral rites, where this instrument plays a large role, the natives replied to our questions that they were "kitchen utensils." After interminable

[126] negotiations with the chief through the medium of his advisors, it was decided to reveal their true nature to us and to sell us some already-made specimens; but not without having revealed to us the tragic consequences which any imprudence on our part would have. To receive the instruments it was necessary to come to the men's house after dark with all that we had in the way of string, paper, and bags. The packing was done by the natives themselves, and they took care that the packages disappeared immediately into the bottom of our trunks. At the time of our departure, as a native and his wife were to accompany us for several days, the same cautionary remarks were repeated, and they made us promise that we would not open the trunks before Cuiabá.

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Division of Labor

462 Finally, it is impossible to study the distribution of rights and obligations between the clans and phratries, without taking into account the fact that across these varieties of social regulation a strict division of labor between the sexes is maintained. The women cultivate the land, prepare the food, do the basketry and ceramics; they feed the fire and chew the bark which is used to cover the sexual organs. The men hunt and fish, build the houses, and carry out all the work of an artisan character. We never observed spinning. All the masculine labors are carried out in the men's house, which has the appearance of a vast workshop. Only two tasks are done in the familial house: depilation of the women's forehead area, which furnishes the hairs used to make cords and various ornaments; lastly, weaving the cotton bands with which married women bind their ankles, arms, and wrists (Pl. X, A /see p. 48/) is a male obligation always carried out at home.

/298/ Note I

614 779 It will have been noted that most of the clans and subclans bear the name of an animal or vegetable. This is the case for the four Tugare clans and for six of the eight Cera clans or subclans. Can one use the word totemism in this respect? It is very doubtful. The natives do not maintain, in fact, any relation with their eponyms. They do not show them any respect, their relations do not have any mystical character, no food prohibition exists, and the few ceremonies which take place upon the killing of certain animals seem to be unrelated to the social system. The eponymous animal is freely killed and eaten.

614 Moreover, the choice of eponyms is not made exclusively from the animal or vegetable kingdom. Sometimes a hero is invoked. Hence we find Bakoro for the Bakoro clan, and the illustrious ancestor who gives his name to the extinct Kario Bokodori clan. The Bóro are named after a manufactured object, the

/298 cont./
614 labial pendant. Inanimate nature is also utilized, for water is one of the eponyms of the Bādejebage.

614 773 The relation of the clans with their eponyms is very clearly indicated by native folklore. The collection of narratives and legends which forms the second and most valuable part of Colbacchini's work (1) contains a series of information which it is

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1. Colbacchini, D.A., I Boros orientali Turin, Società editrice internazionale, s. d.

614 787 enough to analyze. In all cases the same process is apparent: the adoption of a name is the result of an individual revelation which has passed into the collective patrimony of the clan. One day a member of the clan met an animal which manifested to him, by a special, gutteral cry, that he was not a common animal but [775] a member of the "spiritual community" (2). This revelation

[562] [885] [775]

2. The term "aroe," which we translate in this manner, signifies both the society of adult men having access to the baitemannanage" and the part of the individual which survives after death.

perhaps indicates that the soul of the beneficiary will live after [775] the death of the body in the form of this animal. One should still not be in too much of a hurry to speak of metempsychosis, for it is less that the soul must be transformed into an animal than that the spiritual nature of the soul, to make itself known to the individual, chooses a special incarnation, most often an animal, but sometimes also the sun, the moon, or some other perceptible medium. Whatever it may be, the individual who has received this revelation adopts /299/ the name of the medium without fail: "The Ibis will be mine," "My name will be Big Arara," etc.

/299 cont./

614 The clan's adoption of the name thus chosen by its illustrious ancestor hence commemorates for all time the miracle or miracles which the descendants make use of as so many titles of nobility. Thus, the names "Merit' awa̰ra," "The Path of the Sun," and "Meriri kurigeʊ̈," "Big Light," which we met in connection with the system of preferential unions, belong respectively, one to the Bādejeba clan, and the other to the Paiwe clan, by virtue of a legend, one version of which is to be found in Colbacchini:

614 The Indian Paiwe Rikkubugu, going hunting one day, met the
773 sun and the moon on the path of souls. Frightened, he went to relate the event to his father, the Bādejeba Bakorokuddu, and both of them returned to the spot. The benefit from this common mystical experience entails long discussions between the father and son on their respective rights to its commemoration, and each claims the most suitable names to illustrate the occurrence.

614 In fact it is possible to have competition and rivalry between
571 members of different clans. This is the case shown in the origin
787 of the O ̨Cera. Colbacchini does not mention the existence of this clan, which seems not to have been encountered on the Garças River. But it was a legend of its formation which allowed us to
E92 establish (and this was confirmed by the natives) that the O ̨Cera clan, which occupies two houses in Kejara aldeia (Fig. 15, Nos. 8 and 9 /see p. 6/) comes from a subdivision of Bādejebage ̨Cẹbegeʷōge: Iparę́ceba, of the Bādejebage ̨Cabogēʷōge, saw a black ibis which revealed its spiritual nature to him, but several days later his colleague Bādejeba ̨Cẹbegeʷō had the same revelation of a red ibis. They argued over possession of the ibis and ended by dividing the two kinds. The subdivision into blacks and reds, which we indicated in connection with other clans, probably has its origin in the same kind of amiable arrangement..

614 Yet competition is exceptional. For, in the same clan, an
[787] unlimited number of individuals can have mystical experiences. Thus scarcity is less often found than abundance, less often a sharing of eponyms than a veritable accumulation of symbolic names, which recall so many ancestral miracles. Colbacchini

/299 cont./ Colbacchini

614 counts 18 names for the Paiwe, four for the Bokodori, six for the
[114] Ki, three for the Bādejeba, seven for the Āróre, five for the Ewåguddu, eight for the Apibore, etc.... We did not arrive at an equal /300/ number, but as those which we collected on the Rio Vermelho are most often not the same as those which he obtained on the Garças River, it is probable that the true number, expressing the combined whole of different local traditions, is much higher. Moreover, among these names, all do not express rigorously identical traditions. If the Paiwe make use of the names corn, cotton, resin, and tobacco, it is that these plants were born from the ashes of a miraculous child, who in the form of a serpent was conceived by a Paiwe woman. One is hence really in the presence of a commemoration of magical events, in the most general sense of the term.

After this, it is futile to search for another explanation for the origin of the clan eponym than that which is applicable to the collection of names and clan emblems. The eponym is not of a special nature. It only recalls the most striking event, and this is why one finds an illustrious hero just as well as an animal, a plant, or an object. One clan is proud of having brought tobacco to the collectivity, as another recalls that its ancestor was the inventor of the labial pendant. Moreover: this event is not always sufficiently striking to create unanimity among the clan members or among fellow citizens of other clans. Hence the utilization in one village of a name not used elsewhere; hence the secondary divisions of clans.

[175 The maximal expression of the system then would be the
187] following: a philosophical doctrine, based on belief in the reincarnation of the soul in animal form, which took on the quality of a personal revelation for certain individuals, celebrated by their descendants in the form of a commemorative name. It is possible that the Čiba Čera, for example, may have been led to extend to all their descendants the experience of an illustrious ancestor, and may have begun to think that they were all destined to live again in the form of the red arara. But it has not been

/300 cont./

614 possible for us to discover a belief in survival in the buriti palm among the Ewᵃguddu. Perhaps we must also adopt an inverse hypothesis: the myth of the ancestor and his miracle is a retrospective explanation to take account of a collective belief in incarnation. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether the experiences related in the legends definitely belong to the past or whether the natives consider them capable of happening again.

779 773 [262] In only one case does one find, at least in appearance, the classic characteristics of totemism. All the Brazilian peasants who live /301/ or who have lived in contact with the Bororo know that the latter are very reluctant to eat veado /Portuguese word/ (a ruminant of the deer family), although cases to the contrary have been noted here and there. Now, Colbacchini's collection provides a version of the flood myth, in which one sees the only surviving Bororo marrying a female of a "veado matteiro," from which union six generations of hybrids are born, whose animal natures, predominant in the beginning, are gradually effaced until they end in the human type. But the animal of the legend seems clearly individualized from among the great variety of types of veados, whereas the prohibition has a rather vague character. [614] Moreover, the latter is tribal, whereas the pobogo (forest veado) appears only among the Ki clan names, while the atubo and the orõgo (grassland veado and deer) do not figure among the names of any clan.

Note II

57 614 [115] These epithets obviously must not be accepted without examination. The natives were perfectly able to find pleasure in describing a clan with a prestigious name as poor. But the same information was provided by several informants, and reality seems to confirm it: the four Bãdejebage huts present a rather poor appearance, and one finds none of the ornaments suspended from the beams frequent in most of the other habitations.

571 /301 cont./
614 the beams frequent in most of the other habitations. It is perhaps possible to interpret this apparent contradiction.

614 According to the Salesian missionaries (1) who have been in
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115 constant contact with the Bororo of the Garças River for about 30
[117] years, the Čera phratry comprised, at the time of their arrival in the region, seven clans, two of which were Bādejeba—one Bādejeba Čåboge^{w}õ or Akario Bokodori, and the other Bādejeba Čębege^{w}õ or Bakorokuddu. These two clans occupied the two ends of the Čera hemicycle, and each gave a chief who governed the village in collaboration with his colleague. The Bādejeba Čębege^{w}õ, however, held a pre-eminent place.

571 Whether it be that the social organization on the Río Vermelho
614 (on which we have no information) has always been different, or
616 that political revolutions have taken place in the course of the
621 last years, the Kejara situation has only a distant resemblance to that described before. As we have seen, the division into Čębege^{w}õge and Čåbõge^{w}õge is made in relation to the direction of the river, whereas on the Garças River it is explained, it appears, by a difference in ground level. But /302/ above all, if one accepts Colbacchini's description as historically and locally exact, two big differences must be noted: the disappearance of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and the fragmentation and partial change of place of the Bādejebage Bakororo.

Without our asking, our informants, when describing the distribution of clans in the village, pointed out to us the site of the Akario Bokodori clan (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/, between No. 2 and No. 3, or between No. 3 and 4). This clan became extinct at a relatively recent date, since there were still objects bearing its mark in circulation in the village. Before or after this disappearance, a profound change seems to have taken place among the Bādejebage Bakorokuddu. A group of families, among them that of the principal chief, undoubtedly moved toward the upstream

1. Colbacchini, op. cit.

/302 cont./

571 side, thereby occupying the site which had become free of the
614 Bādejebage Čabōgeʷōge. The existence, the name, and the
616 localization of the Bakoro and Bóro clans are thereby explained.
621 While the term Bādejeba may never be used to designate them,
[634] we shall not hesitate to go on with the identification for three reasons: the Bakoro clan is that of Tušawa, the chief of the Bororo; the name, Bakoro, is a contraction of Bakororo, the original name of the clan; and lastly, the epithet Bóro commemorates an event marking the existence of the Bakororo hero, the inventor of the lip pendant and of all the other ornaments. But the Bādejebage Bakororo clan has not been moved in its entirety. One part, the most important numerically, has remained in place; however, the process of fragmentation has overtaken it also. To the northeast of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge, are, in fact, the two O Čera huts; and we have given proof of the origin of the Bādejeba Čębegeʷō from this clan.

Everything thus occurs as if—after an unknown event, perhaps the extinction of the upstream Chiefs—the clan of the downstream Chiefs had been cut into three parts. One first group of families, itself subdivided into Bakoro and Bóro, seems to have come to occupy the site of the extinct clan; when separating from its clan of origin it appears to have carried away with it the essential prerogative, to wit: providing the principal chief, who has become the only chief.

The rest of the clan, continuing to occupy the western end of the Čera hemicycle, seems to have divided also. One group of families appears to have formed its own clan around the Ibis emblem, the animal famous in the annals of the clan. The remaining families seem to have kept the traditional name and site.

If this hypothesis is correct, it must be admitted that the two secessionist groups have divided up the privileges of the clan. By this is understood that the Bakoro-Bóro on the one hand and the O Čera on the other own /304/ numerous ornaments, whereas the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge found themselves completely stripped.

/304 cont./

571 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
621 Tušawa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village
[634] to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections,
and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to
an O Čera house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends
[592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the
Bādejeba Čębegeʷõ clan were only occupied by some old men,
while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many
[825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
[773] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷõge.

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Bibliography (1)

1. We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

080 /The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./

Plate
VII

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/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--45a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VII

Bororo Indians.

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A. Male type.
B. A couple.
C. Penis band, everyday type.
D. Ceremonial penis band.

Plate VIII

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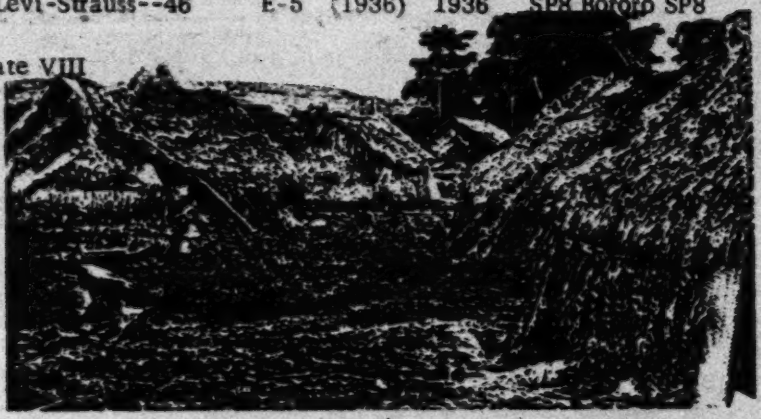

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1:Lévi-Strauss--46a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VIII

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. The enclosure of the circle of houses.
B. The village present at a ceremony.
C. The large and the small marid'do.

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1:Lévi-Strauss--47 E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate IX

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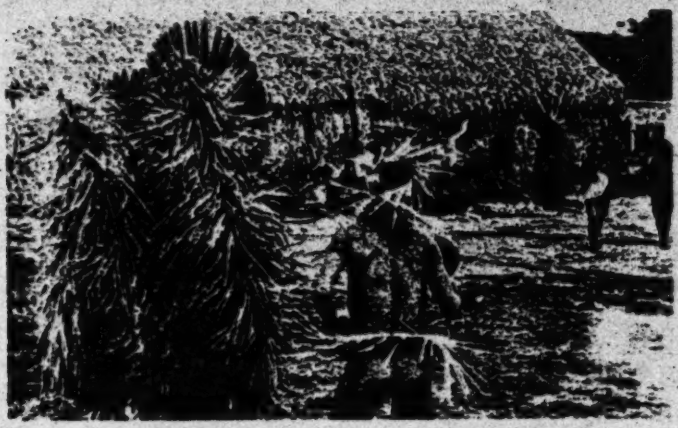

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1:Lévi-Strauss--47a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate IX

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

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A. The men's house, door of the Tugare.
B. Dance of the Paiwe clan.
C. Dance of the buriti clan.

Plate X

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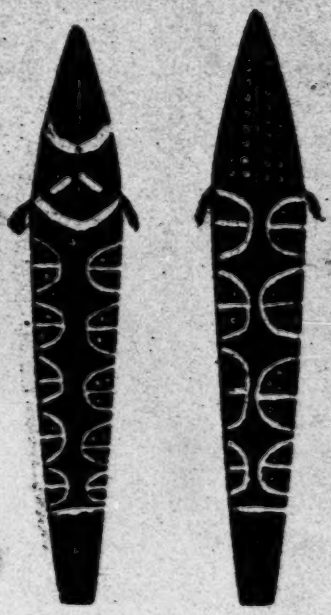

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1:Lévi-Strauss--48a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate X

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

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A. Two Bororo women in festival costumes.
B. The marid'do coming out.
C. "Čiba Čera" Indian in festival costume.
D. Bull-roarer of the "Bóro Čera" clan (two sides shown). Length: 106 cm.

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[For specific data examplifying the "concrete expressions of the social structure," see category 116, pp. 25-34.]

[Since there are many similarities between the marid'do funeral dance described by Lévi-Strauss (1: Lévi-Strauss, pp. 22-24) and the mano race described by Cook (8:Cook, pp. 282-283), the researcher would be well advised to compare the two descriptions.]

[For additional brief statements on the "paramount" chief of the Rio Vermelho area, see also category 643.]

[Information on the general chief of all the Bororo of the Rio Vermelho and the upper São Lourenço will be found in category 634.]